

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 072702

12

ORIGIN EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-13 IO-03 ADP-00 MBFR-02 SS-15 NSC-10 NSCE-00

PM-03 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00

GAC-01 ACDA-10 EB-03 TRSE-00 NEA-06 /090 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USUN NY

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION OECD PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 072702

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR: GE, GW, NATO, BARZEL, RAINER

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESEL'S CONVERSATION WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 072702

GERMAN OPPOSITION LEADER BARZEL

LIMDIS

1. SUMMARY. DURING MAY 16 CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS STOESEL, FRG OPPOSITION LEADER BARZEL EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US WOULD BLOCK GDR ADMISSION TO UNITED NATIONS IF SOVIETS OR GDR CHALLENGED FRG' S RIGHT TO REPRESENT BERLIN. HE VOICED DISSATISFACTION AT SOVIET AND GDR INTERPRETATION OF BERLIN AGREEMENT, NOTING THAT BRANDT GOVT BORE SOME RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS MATTER. WITHOUT COMMENTING ON QUESTIONS OF BLOCKING GDR ENTRY, STOESEL ASSURED BARZEL THAT US WAS TAKING STEPS TO ENSURE THAT FRG COULD REPRESENT BERLIN IN UN. CONVERSATION ALSO TOUCHED ON CSCE, MBFR AND US- EUROPEAN RELATIONS, WITH BARZEL EXPRESSING SOME DISQUIET ABOUT CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. AT THE OUTSET BARZEL SAID HE FOUND IT USEFUL TO COME TO WASHINGTON ONCE A YEAR AS GERMAN OPPOSITION LEADERS HAVE CUSTOMARILY DONE. HE HOPED TO HAVE AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT. THIS WAS THE FIRST OCCASION WHEN HE HAD NOT RECEIVED ONE IN ADVANCE. STOESEL ASSURED BARZEL

THAT WE HAVE HOPED FOR AND SOUGHT SUCH AN APPOINTMENT FOR HIM, BUT THE PRESIDENT HAS AN EXTREMELY BUSY SCHEDULE.

3. AT BARZEL' S REQUEST STOESEL REVIEWED CSCE DEVELOPMENTS, COMMENTING THAT THE PREPARATORY TALKS SEEM TO BE GOING QUITE WELL. WESTERN COOPERATION HAS BEEN GOOD AND ALTHOUGH WE HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONSULTATION PROCESS AMONG THE EC NINE, THIS HAS BEEN USEFUL AND PERHAPS HAS STIMULATED EUROPEAN UNITY. THE SOVIETS HAVE APPEARED WILLING TO COMPROMISE ON SOME ISSUES ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS REMAIN. THE NEXT ROUND OF MPT MAY BE THE LAST ONE, AND WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL PROBABLY MEET ON JUNE 25. BARZEL SAID HE WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THIS POSITIVE ASSESSMENT, RECALLING THAT WE HAD HAD CERTAIN RESERVATIONS ABOUT CSCE IN THE PAST. WITHOUT WISHING TO EXAGGERATE THE MATTER, HE HAD GATHERED THE IMPRESSION FROM SOME TOP
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 072702

NATO LEADERS A FEW WEEKS AGO IN BRUSSELS THAT THEY FEARED THE EC NINE MIGHT MAKE COOPERATION IN NATO MORE DIFFICULT OR SUPERFLUOUS. IF TRUE, IT WOULD BE A FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM. STOESEL REITERATED THAT CONSULTATION HAS BEEN SATISFACTORY AND SAID NO PROBLEM EXISTS AS LONG AS THE NINE KEEP THE OTHERS INFORMED AND DO NOT TAKE OVERLY RIGID POSITIONS.

4. MBFR. STOESEL ADDED THAT VIENNA HAS BEEN MORE DIFFICULT TO DATE THAN HELSINKI. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING

BECAUSE MBFR HAS A GREATER POTENTIAL EFFECT ON SECURITY AND IS MORE COMPLEX. WE HAVE WISHED TO AVOID SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES IN THE PREPARATORY TALKS, WHERE THE MAIN ISSUE SO FAR HAS BEEN HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION. WE HOPE WE ARE APPROACHING THE STAGE WHERE IT CAN BE SETTLED, LEAVING HUNGARY IN ABEYANCE, BUT THIS IS NOT YET SURE. THE TALKS, THOUGH SLOW, ARE NOT A WASTE OF TIME BECAUSE QUESTIONS OF AGENDA, PARTICIPATION, SHAPE OF TABLE ARE IMPORTANT IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE WILL ONLY FIND THE TRUE SOVIET ATTITUDE WHEN WE NEGOTIATE IN THE FALL. WE WISH TO MAINTAIN OUR TROOP COMMITMENTS DESPITE HEAVY PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS, WHERE SENATOR MANSFIELD HAS BEEN JOINED BY OTHERS WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OR WHO SIMPLY ARE CRITICAL OF SOME OTHER ASPECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN FORCE LEVELS IT IS IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO ASSURE CONGRESS WE ARE NEGOTIATING MUTUAL WITHDRAWALS. BARZEL EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE WEST IS BEING STALEMATED IN VIENNA WHILE THE SOVIET UNION GETS ITS WAY IN HELSINKI. IN GERMANY, HE SAID, IT WOULD BE

VERY DIFFICULT IF HUNGARY WERE NOT PRESENT AT MBFR AS A FULL PARTICIPANT. ASSUMING THE FURTHER THINNING OUT WILL BEGIN WITH TROOP CUTS BY THE GREAT POWERS, HE WONDERED WHAT WOULD FOLLOW. THERE WAS THE DANGER THAT GERMANY WOULD BE IN A SPECIAL ZONE. THAT WOULD PROBABLY BE THE END OF NATO AS IT NOW EXISTS -- A NATO WITH ONLY FRANCE AND ITALY AS MEMBERS WAS SOMETHING NO ONE WANTS. THUS, WHILE PARTICIPATION IS IMPORTANT, FUTURE PERSPECTIVES ARE MORE SO. STOESEL ASSURED BARZEL WE ARE AWARE OF CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 072702

AND SHARE HIS CONCERNS. WE DO NOT WANT THE ALLIANCE TO RELAX ITS GUARD. NO ONE WISHES TO SEE GERMANY MADE A SPECIAL ZONE. WE ARE AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUNGARY, WHETHER IT PARTICIPATES DIRECTLY OR NOT, AND CONSTRAINTS ON SOVIET TROOPS WILL BE NECESSARY IN THIS RESPECT. THE WHOLE PROCESS OF MBFR WILL TAKE YEARS.

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